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helmets of bullhide were worn in battle. Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:147) reports use of a shield of hides sewn together. Fighting was unorganized, of the individualistic pattern, with much use of surprise and ambush.

Captives were taken, especially women and children. There was no torture of prisoners. Cannibalism—avengeful, gastronomic, magical, or other—was absent.

Mercy killing occurred in the form of premature interment, in some cases where hope of recovery had been given up (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, pp. 56–57). The useless were sometimes abandoned when the band had to be on the move (D'Orbigny, 1935–47, 2:190).

ECONOMIC CULTURE

Ownership.—On land tenure, see supra under Political Life. Ownership of personal property by male and female children, from infancy, was distinctly recognized (Musters, 1871, p. 177). Currency was absent. Barter was common, with other Indian groups and with Whites. Barter by exchange of presents, or something very much like it, occurred (Musters, 1871, pp. 155–156, 242–243). The property of a person was usually buried with him or burned at his death, so there was not much, if any, acquisition of property by inheritance. The *Tehuelche* are reported to have been very honest among themselves. The killers of guanacos and ostriches had certain prior rights to specified parts thereof, but game food was customarily shared generously with others.

Labor.—A woman who made a skin mantle for a bachelor might expect some compensation (Musters, 1871, p. 171). Captives sometimes were kept in sort of drudge slavery (Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2:153; Spegazzini, 1884, p. 237).

Men's chief tasks were: Hunting, fighting, breaking and training horses, making saddles, harness, lassos, and pipe bowls, and doing most of the work of silversmithing. Women's chief tasks were: Caring for the children and the toldo, fetching wood and water, cooking and preparing food, caring for the impedimenta on the move, dressing, sewing, and painting skins, making clothing, and weaving fillets.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth and infancy.—All statements on birth, infancy, and education here refer to the later *Tehuelche*.

Shortly after birth the child was smeared with damp gypsum (Musters, 1871, p. 176). According to Moreno (1879, pp. 445–446), marital abstinence was practiced from conception until about a year after birth. Prichard (1902, p. 92) states that children's heads were

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Education.—Children were indulged and seldom corrected. Whether the *Tehuelche* ever had the Elel bugaboo rite (cf. infra under *Puelche*, Education) is uncertain. Gusinde (1926 a, p. 310; 1931, p. 1083) was told by the *Tehuelche* of the upper Río Gallegos, to whom he paid a very brief visit in 1924, that they had a rite called, as among the *Ona*, klóketen; the rite was held in a tent covered with guanaco skin, and face covers of feathers were used instead of the *Ona* masks. Field work on the point here raised is imperative, to gather details, and to determine, if possible, whether this rite is an ancient *Tehuelche* one or one introduced more recently by immigrant *Ona*. (Cf. supra Introduction, on *Ona* immigration into Patagonia.)

Girls' puberty rite.—The *Tehuelche* had a simple puberty rite for girls. This first menses rite, as described in detail by Musters from personal observation (1871, pp. 76–78), followed the general pattern of the birth rite as regards painting and bleeding by the medicine man, erection of the "pretty house," slaughter of mares with feast, evening bonfire, dancing in fours by plumed and girdled men to instrumental accompaniment (pl. 39, *bottom*). The main differences were: The girl was placed in seclusion in the "pretty house," and the old women sang while the men danced.

D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2:177–178) describes the *Tehuelche* first menses rite as consisting chiefly of greetings to the girl by all of the tribe, of the distribution of horse meat by her to them, and of ablutions by the girl in the nearest stream with only her mother and other female relatives and the female shaman present. Viedma (1837 b, p. 78) noted the slaughter of a horse at first menses; Peña (1789, ed. Lehmann-Nitsche, 1914, p. 11), the seating of the girl in a public place, a dance around her, and the sacrifice of a mare; Lista (1879 b, p. 83), a feast lasting several days, a dance around a bonfire, and libations; Cordovez (1905, p. 47), tent(s) painted red.

Muñiz (1917, p. 205) reported two small huts, with the girl seated in one, and a young man with the title of "king" armed with a whip and bolas, who castigated the men or women who executed poorly the dance around the fire between the two tents. Muñiz ascribed this rite to the Pampean Indians in general, not specifically to the *Tehuelche*. The role of the "king" in it suggests that it may have been exclusively *Puelche*, or else *Tehuelche* influenced by *Puelche*. (Cf. Elel first menses rite, pp. 165–166.)

Marriage.—See page 149.

Death observances.—The most common form of disposal of the dead in the Patagonian area was cairn burial on a hilltop, the body resting on the surface of the ground with knees to thorax; other forms were sand interment and cave and crevice disposal. Some belongings were buried with the dead.

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764 The more common later form of disposal was interment in a sitting posture, the body enveloped in a hide roll or mantle, the deceased's belongings or most of them being burned. (Peña, 1914, p. 11; Muñiz, 1917, p. 213; Gardiner, 1852, p. 23; Musters, 1871, p. 178; Roncagli, 1884, p. 779; Spegazzini, 1884, p. 236; Borgatello, 1924, pp. 22–23.) The deceased person's horses were killed, and the skin of one or more of them stuffed with straw and set up at the grave (Lozano [Cardiel and Quiroga, 1747] 1836–7, pp. 16–17, and later sources). Some placed food in the grave, others did not (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 78). Poles with banners were also put up at the grave. Killing of the dead person's dogs and other animals was common. Viedma (1837 a, p. 47; 1837 b, p. 77) reports a case of turning over the corpse to the old women for secret burial.

765 As mourning rites, the women wailed, scratched their faces and gashed their cheeks (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 77), and cut their hair or ends of it and threw them into the fire, while, according to Gardiner (1852, p. 23) the surviving male relatives cut gashes in the calves of their legs. The widow painted her face black. The name of the dead was not mentioned. According to Viedma (1837 b, pp. 77–78), in his day, mourning, in the case of a young person or of one in robust middle age, continued 15 days, with 1 day of mourning each succeeding moon and 3-day mourning at the first anniversary; but on the death of an aged person, only a broken-down horse was killed.

775 **Future life.**—Very meager data are found in our sources. Belief in a future life is clear; the rest obscure. According to Viedma (1837 b, p. 78), when an aged person died his soul just passed on, while when a young and robust person died, he (his spirit) was retained below the earth until such time elapsed as would have brought him *to old age had he lived*, and then passed into the first child born. According to Coan (1880, p. 172) and Borgatello (1924, p. 22), the lot of the good and evil differed in the future life.

WARFARE AND CANNIBALISM

See pages 153–154.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

531 **Art.**—Geometric designs (fig. 19) of considerable complexity were painted in red, yellow, green, blue, white, and black on mantles. (Cf. Lothrop, 1929, for details and affiliations.) Crude zoomorphic and other pictographs (*Tehuelche?*, or *proto-Tehuelche?*) occur in *Tehuelche* territory.

526 **Games and gambling.**—The later *Tehuelche* were very fond of
525 horse-racing, a ball game (the *Araucanian* pillma), dice (Spanish), and card playing (Spanish); and Coan (1880, pp. 77, 153) reported

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tions: first, 'Who is cacique of the English?' I explained to him that it was Her Gracious Majesty. 'Is she married?' 'She is a widow.' 'Has she any children, and how many? Has she lots of horses and mares and silver ornaments?' And so on until I had satisfied him; after which he rode along, repeating, 'A woman cacique! A woman cacique! Four sons and five daughters! Lots of horses, mares, sheep, and cattle!' On the 22nd of September we left the encampment in the cañon about sunrise, and, mounting the ridge on the north side, halted close to the grave of an Indian; the broad and high cairn of stones erected over it denoting him to have been a cacique of importance, which fact was communicated to me in a low whisper by Wáki. Here a fire was made, and a few stones added to the pile. Whilst the Indians were warming themselves the sun rose, and the view of the Cordillera, seen through the clear atmosphere, with the sun's first rays illuminating the snowy mountain summits with a roseate flush was magnificent. We pursued our route over sandy plains, crossed at intervals by shallow streams of water, and halted near some lagoons in a place called by the Indians 'Kinck.'

The following day we marched again, hunting as usual on the way. A fat ostrich at this time of the year was a rarity, but eggs abounded, and formed the main staple of food; and the armadillos were also getting into condition, and assisted to furnish a repast at the camp fire. On the 27th we arrived at a place named 'Gelgel,' situated on the banks of a rapid river, probably that debouching at Port Desire. This was the point of divergence from the northern route to Patagones for any party proceeding to hunt in the western plains. During our stay in Gelgel we hunted in the surrounding country, and on several occasions observed columns of smoke to the south, as if made by a party approaching. These at last appeared nearer, and as no distinct answer was made to our signal fires, scouts were sent out, but returned with no information, one, however, asserting that he had found the

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on his best horse, decorated with silver ornaments—if he possesses any—proceeds to the toldo of his intended, and hands over the gifts. The parents of the bride then return gifts of an equal value, which, however, in the event of a separation (a rare event), become the property of the bride. After this the bride is escorted by the bridegroom to his toldo, amidst the cheers of his friends and the singing of the women. Mares are usually then slaughtered and eaten on the spot, great care being taken that the dogs do not touch any of the meat or offal, as it is considered unlucky. The head, backbone, tail, together with the heart and liver, are taken up to the top of a neighbouring hill, as an offering to the Gualichu, or evil spirit. An Indian is allowed to have as many wives as he can support, but it is rare to find a man with more than two, and they generally only have one.

On the death of a Tehuelche all his horses, dogs, and other animals are killed, his ponchos, ornaments, bolas, and all other personal belongings are placed in a heap and burned, the widow and other womankind keeping up a dismal wailing, and crying out loud in the most melancholy manner. The meat of the horses is distributed amongst the relations on both sides: and the widow, who cuts her hair short in front and assumes black paint, repairs, bag and baggage, to the toldo of her relations, or if she has none in the party, to the toldo of the chief.

The body is sewn up in a mantle, poncho, or coat of mail, if the deceased possessed one, and is taken away by some of the relations and buried in a sitting posture, its face to the east, a cairn of stones being erected over the place, varying in size according to the wealth and influence of the deceased. I have never seen any of the graves described in Mr. Wood's work, but as my travels as a rule were confined to the interior, they may exist in some part of the sea-coast; nor did the exhumation and removal of the body ever come under my notice, and I should be inclined to doubt its being ever practised by the Tehuelches, inasmuch as it is a rule amongst

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volcanic aspect, was named 'Oerroè.' The side of this hill was thickly scattered with fragments of the vesicular lava which furnishes the favourite material for the hand bolas. As most of us had exchanged our weapons of the chase for apples, piñones, &c., in Las Manzanas, many were soon employed picking stones and fashioning bolas. I took very good care that my page should be unprovided with hunting implements, but, alas! here he fell sick, or pretended to be, and was just as useless as before. The day after our arrival Crimè's sufferings were terminated. I received a summons to his death-bed; the cacique, though wandering, knew his friends, and called all to witness that his death had been caused by a Southern Tehuelche whom he named and described, and then, raising his arm, pointed to a vacant space and cried, 'Look at him, there he stands.' He then asked me to 'feel his arm,' and as, to please him, I laid my finger on his pulse, it beat slower and slower, till, with a sudden gasp, he died. According to etiquette, we silently retired, and the toldo resounded with the clamorous crying of the women and the wailing of his widow. The usual funeral rites were hurriedly gone through, but most were too absorbed in their own troubles to participate in them. During the night three children died, and more were at death's door; and, the supply of horseflesh from the funeral victims being abundant, all thoughts of marching were abandoned, and the camp resounded with the lamentations of the women. In our toldo all the inmates were sick, and the duty of looking after the horses devolved on myself and Casimiro, who was recovering from his attack.

We were joined in this place by Hinchel's son with his Araucanian wife, with whom another man came to look for a girl who had run away from Foyel's toldo, but his quest proved fruitless, as she remained invisible, stowed away in some of the toldos. This man brought further news that Cheoeque's people, renewing the old feud, were arming to fight now that we had gone; also that a man had been killed in a

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000 it better on the whole to keep friends for the present. The
648 evening of this quarrel, as a party of three toldos were starting off to go to the Chupat, and Casimiro was desirous of extending his fame to the Welsh settlement, I wrote a letter to the authorities inquiring about some saddles, part of his Argentine rations sent thither by mistake, which the chief declared to have been intended for him, but which had been distributed amongst other Indians. The letter was forwarded
144 by one of the Indians who was supposed to be of English parentage on one side, although he showed but little traces of English blood in his type, with the exception perhaps of his hair, which was of a lighter colour than that usually met with: he was a very good-natured fellow, and I regretted his departure, as he was one of my adherents, but being a man of very sober habits he did not wish to be mixed up in the universal orgie which would probably take place on arriving
000 in the vicinity of Patagones. With this party the young widow, who had made overtures of marriage to me, also departed, after an affectionate farewell, and receiving a handkerchief as a remembrance. The following morning we also started, and one of the universal loafers who had gambled his property away, asking for a mount, was told to catch the 'white horse' presented by Orkeke: he accordingly borrowed a horse to catch him, and at the end of our day's journey had not succeeded in doing more than driving him in, to use a nautical term, in our wake; this was exactly what I had intended, as this Indian was a great rogue, and had cheated me at cards out of a set of metal bolas, equivalent to a horse.
133 Our march lay up the valley, and the circle was formed on the surrounding volcanic hills, the sides of which, besides the vesicular lava, presented large masses of the ironstone noted as having been observed at Santa Cruz. Shrubs were sparsely scattered on these hills, and game was exceedingly scarce.
165 Towards evening we encamped on the borders of a stream
764 in a place called by the Indians Telek. There the sickness broke out afresh in its worst form, and several children died,

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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in consequence of which a quantity of mares and horses were slaughtered, and numbers of ponchos, ornaments, and other property burnt by the parents in their grief. It was most distressing to see and hear the melancholy manifestations of sorrow, and the sound alone of that dreadful crying aloud, and the dismal 'ullagoning,' to use the Irish expression, of the old women, haunted me even in my sleep. The night of our arrival a mock combat with the Gualichu took place, in which everybody joined. After dark, when many were sitting by the firesides conversing, and I myself was reclining on my bed smoking, the doctor came into the toldo, and communicated with the chief, who told all to get their arms ready, and loaded his gun: on a shout being set up all fires were immediately extinguished, and all commenced firing off guns, clashing their swords, and beating the backs of the toldos, and yelling 'kow-w!' at each blow; firebrands being, at the same time, thrown into the air by the women, with clamorous shouts and cries. The scene was wild and striking, the darkness of the night being only illuminated by the flashes of the guns or the sparks from the brands whirled high into the air. At a given signal all stopped simultaneously, and for two or three minutes the camp remained in perfect darkness, after which the fires were relighted, and things resumed their ordinary aspect.

The following day, strange to say, a real fight took place, in which one man was wounded, and for a few minutes a general *mêlée* or free fight appeared imminent. Parties were already forming to cancel old blood feuds, when further mischief was checked by the return of Hinchel, myself, and others. We had been absent trying new horses on the race-course, which, as in almost all the camping-grounds since leaving the Rio Sengel, was a regular beaten level track of about a couple of miles in length, and my new horse had established his fame as a racer by winning a match over a distance of a mile and a half; meanwhile the quarrel broke out—such are the uncertainties of Indian life.

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The same ceremonial is observed on the attainment of puberty by a girl. The important event is announced by her father to the cacique, who thereupon notifies it to the doctor. The girl herself is placed in the "pretty-house", and no one allowed to enter it. Marriages amongst the Tehuelches are always those of inclination, and if the damsel does not like the suitor to her hand, her parents never force her to comply with their wishes, although the match may be an advantageous one. The usual custom is for the bridegroom, after he has secured the consent of his damsel, to send either a brother or some intimate friend to the parents, offering so many mares, horses, or silver ornaments for the bride. If the parents consider the match desirable, as soon after as circumstances will permit; the bridegroom, dressed in his best, and mounted on his best horse, proceeds to the toldo of his intended, and hands over the gifts; the parents then return gifts of equivalent value, which, however, in the event of a separation, are the property of the bride. After this the bride is escorted by the bridegroom to his toldo, amongst the cheers of his friends, and the singing of the women. Mares are generally then slaughtered, and a feast takes place. The animals being killed, cooked, and eaten on the spot, great care being taken that the dogs do not touch any of the meat or offal, as it is considered unlucky. The head, backbone, and tail, together with the heart and liver, are taken up to the top of a neighbouring hill, as an offering to the "Gualychu", or evil spirit. An Indian is allowed to have as many wives as he can support. However, it is rare to find a man with more than two, and they more generally only have one.

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A curious custom prevails amongst these Indians with regard to their children. If a child hurts itself while playing, mares are slaughtered as a sort of thanksoffering that it did not die, a pretty

[E.L.o. As for a newborn child. — Analyst]

She is put into it and there the chanting becomes louder because

every available crone joins in and one of them attaches to a stick all [755]
the bells she can lay hold of and, making a great noise with them, she [534]
takes a turn around the outside of the tent every once in a while, those
within redoubling their shouting when this occurs. During the time of
the person's sickness mares and horses are slaughtered as an offering or [782]
sacrifice to the idol in order to bring about the sick one's recovery; but
this offering is then eaten by the invalid and the chanters.

If the invalid should die, either in the new poncho tent if she is [764]
a virgin, or in the home tent if it be a man or a married woman, the
favorite horse is brought to the tent, is saddled and harnessed, and all
the dead person's valuables are placed on it. A boy is then mounted on
the horse and made to ride once around the tent in which the corpse is
lying. The boy is then taken off the horse and a noose is placed over
the horse's neck from the two ends of which two Indians pull until the
horse is choked to death. A bonfire being already prepared, the horse's
trappings and valuables are hurled into it and the person who heads the
funeral proceedings starts to take off all his clothes and all else he has
on and hurls them into the fire, and all the deceased's relatives and
friends throw some article of clothing into the flames, either a garment
which they have brought for the purpose from their tents or else they
take off a garment on the spot, each competing with the others as to
the value of the articles thrown into the fire, by which they demonstrate
greater obligation to the deceased, or deeper friendship, etc. Then they
disembowel the throttled horse and the meat is distributed amongst all
those who have thrown garments into the fire. The bereaved remains
in her tent, completely covered up and silent. All the women relatives [765]
and friends go to keep them [sic] company, and in order to do this they
cut big locks of hair from their heads so that their hair hangs down over
their foreheads up to their eyebrows, they claw their faces, scarify their
cheeks, weep even if they do not really feel like doing so, and indulge
in wailing and other expressions of sorrow so pitiable and heart-rending
that it seems that their very hearts would break. The old crones take
over the body at night and bury it where it seems best to them, the
whereabouts of the burial place being withheld from the mourners and
from all others; and if the old women are asked to reveal the place
where the body has been laid they are not allowed to do so. The mourn- [765]
ing goes on for fifteen days, with the same meaning, and every day [768]
horses belonging to the deceased are slaughtered until not one is left,
as all his goods are to be destroyed and cannot be given away to anyone,
and nobody would receive them anyway knowing that their owner was
dead because this is a second manner [??] for them, and inviolable. [766]
[to many sick ones.--Bandelier]